97-84083-14

Association Against the Prohibition Amendment

Does prohibition pay?

Washington, D.C.

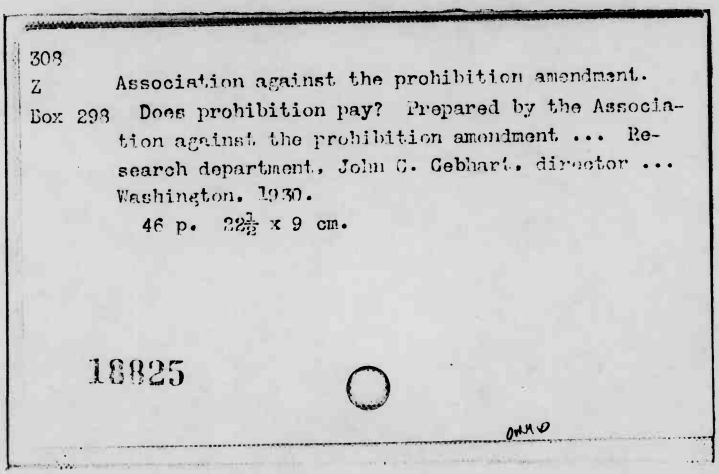
1930

97-84083-14
MASTER NEGATIVE #

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
PRESERVATION DIVISION

BIBLIOGRAPHIC MICROFORM TARGET

ORIGINAL MATERIAL AS FILMED - EXISTING BIBLIOGRAPHIC RECORD


308
Z
Box 298 Does prohibition pay? Prepared by the Association against the prohibition amendment ... Research department, John C. Gebhart, director ... Washington, 1930.
46 p. 22½ x 9 cm.
Association against the prohibition amendment.
18825
OMNO

RESTRICTIONS ON USE: *Reproductions may not be made without permission from Columbia University Libraries.*

TECHNICAL MICROFORM DATA

FILM SIZE: 35mm REDUCTION RATIO: 9:1 IMAGE PLACEMENT: IA (IIA) IB IIB

DATE FILMED: 5-9-97 INITIALS: RB

TRACKING # : MSH 24129

FILMED BY PRESERVATION RESOURCES, BETHLEHEM, PA.

Does Prohibition Pay?

Prepared by the
ASSOCIATION AGAINST THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

308
Z
Box 298

Research Department
JOHN C. GEBHART, *Director*

Published October, 1930

Association Against the Prohibition Amendment

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

PIERRE S. DUPONT, *Chairman*
ROBERT K. CASSATT
BENEDICT CROWELL
HENRY H. CURRAN
IRENEE DUPONT
GRAYSON M.-P. MURPHY
CHARLES H. SABIN
W. H. STAYTON
JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR.

FINANCE COMMITTEE

LAMMOT DUPONT, *Chairman*
MATTHEW C. BRUSH
ROBERT K. CASSATT
HENRY H. CURRAN
JOSEPH R. HAMLEN
C. WILBUR MILLER
JOHN J. RASKOB
CHARLES H. SABIN
WILLIAM P. SMITH

Does Prohibition Pay?

Prepared by the
ASSOCIATION AGAINST THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Research Department
JOHN C. GEBHART, *Director*

Published October, 1930

Nov. 21, 1930 DA/Hed

Table of Contents

	Page
Foreword	4
Liquor Consumption under Prohibition	6
Beer	7
Wine	7
Spirits	8
A Comparison of Estimates	10
The Final Estimate	11
The Drink Bill under Prohibition	11
Comparison with Foreign Countries	13
The Pre-Prohibition Drink Bill	13
No Saving in the Drink Bill	14
Workers' Share of Drink Bill	14
Prohibition and Workmen's Efficiency	15
Increase Not Uniform	16
Leading Factors in Increased Output	17
Increased Use of Power	17
Improved Machinery	18
Mass Production	18
Personnel Management	19
Industrial Research	19
Monday Absences	20
Increase in Savings	21
Other Forms of Saving	23
Increased Purchasing Power	24
Automobiles	25
Radio Sets	26
Household Appliances	26
Increased Sale of Milk	27
Other Changes in Food Consumption	28
Clothing	28
Other Factors in Prosperity	29
Increase in "Real" Wages	30
Productivity and Prosperity	31
Improved Credit	31
Hand-to-Mouth Buying	31
The Automobile	31
Effect on Certain Economic Groups	32
Breweries and Distilleries	32
Former Employees	33
Prohibition and the Farmer	34
Summary and Conclusions	34

FOREWORD

The economic side of prohibition is probably the most baffling of the various phases of our national experiment. Loose claims and counter-claims, without actual facts to substantiate them, have been launched recklessly in the controversy over this point. This pamphlet is addressed especially to the open-minded layman, who wants to sift facts out of a mass of conjecture and weigh them, to decide for himself what prohibition has really done in the way of promoting prosperity. It is based on a strictly scientific study which we have been making for a year and a half, in which the services of a trained economist have been engaged and the advice of other professional economists secured. Wherever it has been possible to reduce our findings to actual figures, that has been done. Where no final answer could be worked out, we have presented approximate or presumptive conclusions, as such, with the available evidence.

DOES PROHIBITION PAY?

IT is commonly believed, even by many who are in principle opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment, that prohibition has been a distinct economic benefit to the country. The serious business depression which we are now experiencing has done much to dispel this belief. This is not surprising, for most of the claims of the economic benefits of prohibition are based solely on the fact that for most of the period since 1920 we have been in an era of unprecedented prosperity. Now that prosperity, for many of our people, has disappeared, it is only natural for them to doubt whether after all, prohibition has been such an economic boon as they had been led to believe.

In a forthcoming publication we shall give the details of the study we have made of the economic effects of prohibition. We shall present here the main conclusions of our study and give a brief description of the methods used.

Two main points stand out in a survey of the economic problem. They are points which lie at the root of the following prohibitionists' claims:

1. That prohibition has wiped out the national drink bill.
2. That increased productivity of workers is due to prohibition.

Professor Irving Fisher estimates that the saving in the drink bill and the increased productivity of workers because drinking has been practically eliminated, are together contributing at least six billion dollars annually to the wealth of our country. The fundamental fallacy of these claims is that they assume that liquor consumption, particularly among the working population, ceased almost entirely with the adoption of national prohibition. Such advocates entirely ignore in their calculations all existing indexes of the steady increase in liquor consumption and intemperance. In another publication * we have collected the available and dependable evidence of the rise in the liquor curve. We find, for example, that although the alcoholic death rate declined sharply from 1918 to 1920, the rate since 1920 has increased 317 per cent. The 1928 rate is 86 per cent of the rate which prevailed from 1914 to 1917, before wartime con-

* "Measuring the Liquor Tide."

ditions and wartime restrictions brought a decline in the rate. The rise is not confined to the well-to-do, for the rate among twenty million industrial policy holders insured by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company increased 450 per cent from 1920 to 1928, a greater rate of increase than that which prevailed among the general population. Arrests for drunkenness in 371 typical towns and cities, in spite of the sharp decline from 1918 to 1920, have steadily risen. The 1928 rate per 10,000 population is 82 per cent of the rate prevailing from 1914 to 1917.

We do not offer these indexes as final proof of the rise in liquor consumption. They conceal variations in different parts of the country and among different social and economic groups; but, similarly, most of the claims of the economic gains of prohibition ignore these fine distinctions. Certainly the best showing which can be made from this evidence is a possible reduction in liquor consumption of from 15 to 20 per cent as compared with pre-war conditions. The figures certainly show that there is no basis for the sweeping assumption that liquor consumption has been eliminated, or even greatly reduced, because of national prohibition.

Seizures of contraband liquor and distilling apparatus have steadily mounted during the entire prohibition period. As we have already pointed out, the rise in liquor seizures has been accompanied by a similar rise in all other related indexes. It was predicted by the proponents of prohibition that after two or three years of experiment there would be a marked curtailment in the amount of liquor available. In 1920 only 15,416 pieces of distilling apparatus were seized, while in 1928 they numbered 261,611. In 1920 only 153,735 gallons of liquor of all kinds were seized, and in 1928 the seizures totalled 32,474,234 gallons. The records for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1929, show a slight falling off in arrests and seizures, but this is to be attributed to concentration on cases of major importance by enforcement agents. Certainly the enforcement figures show that the illicit liquor traffic is steadily outstripping all attempts at enforcement and curtailment. Apparently, the number of seizures made is limited only by the number of agents placed in the field.

LIQUOR CONSUMPTION UNDER PROHIBITION

The first step in evaluating the economic benefits of prohibition is to ascertain what saving,

if any, there has been in national expenditures for drink. If there has been no net saving, or only a negligible amount, the major premise of the theory of the economic gains from prohibition falls to the ground.

Before national prohibition the annual consumption of alcoholic beverages could be definitely compiled from federal tax returns. Now that the business of manufacturing and dispensing alcoholic beverages is illicit and under cover, liquor consumption and liquor expenditures can only be estimated with the greatest difficulty. We have worked out a careful estimate of liquor consumption. This estimate will be set forth in detail in another publication. We shall give here only a brief summary of the methods used and the main conclusions reached.

From official and trade sources we have estimated, within reasonable limits, the materials which go into the manufacture of intoxicating beverages. From the total production of materials we have deducted the estimated amounts used in legitimate industry. This leaves the amounts which probably go into the manufacture of intoxicating beverages. For wine and beer this process is fairly simple and reliable. In the case of spirits, however, many baffling problems are presented.

Beer

Our estimate of beer production is based on the hop crop. From the annual hop crop for the years 1927 to 1929, we have deducted the amount exported and the amount used legitimately in the manufacture of "near beer." We have also allowed for the carry-over of crops from year to year. When these deductions are made we have a large balance of the hop crop which can only be accounted for in the production of illegal beer.

Wine

Our estimate of the annual production of wine is based on the grape crop. From the total production of grapes in 1929 we have deducted the amounts used in the legitimate production of wine and spirits and the amount of raisins and grapes exported. We have also allowed for a per capita consumption of twenty-two pounds of grapes for table use and unfermented grape juice. The latter estimate is exceedingly liberal, for in 1917 the per capita use for such purposes as calculated by the United States Department of Agriculture was less than nineteen pounds. We have also included in our estimate of wine

consumed under prohibition the small quantities withdrawn from bonded warehouses for medicinal and sacramental use and even smaller quantities smuggled in from foreign countries.

Spirits

The problem of estimating the amount of spirits produced is more difficult, because spirits can be made from practically any substance containing starch or sugar. The chief sources, however, are admitted by government authorities to be corn sugar, cane and beet sugar, illegally diverted alcohol, molasses and corn meal and grain mash.

According to Commissioner Doran, within recent years corn sugar has become the most popular source for the illicit manufacture of spirits. Distillation from corn sugar has become popular because it is a cleanly process, emits no odor and leaves no ash. Stills using corn sugar are therefore less likely to be detected than those using grain or other materials. The United States Census of Manufactures reports an increase of 470 per cent in corn sugar production since 1919. In 1919, 157,276,422 pounds were produced, as against 896,121,276 in 1929. There are no new uses for corn sugar except in the rayon industry, which has had a great expansion since 1919. We have allowed for a slight increase in older uses. Even with these deductions, well over six hundred million pounds of corn sugar are available for distillation. This would produce over sixty-one million gallons of proof spirits.

In view of misleading statements frequently made as to the uses of corn sugar, it should be noted that corn sugar, or solid glucose, is not to be confused with liquid glucose, or corn syrup. Similarly, it is not to be confused with corn starch, an entirely different product used in making laundry starch and other legitimate products. Corn syrup is also an entirely different product, and has many legitimate uses. We have not included either corn syrup or corn starch in our estimates of liquor production.

A considerable quantity of liquor is made from cane and beet sugar. Our information indicates that cane and beet sugar are largely used in the middle western and mountain states, such as Colorado and Montana. Granulated sugar is also used in numerous small stills throughout the country, because granulated sugar can be easily purchased in the open market in any community. We have estimated the normal consumption of sugar in the United States for the ten years

before prohibition. On the basis of the pre-prohibition uses we find a considerable balance which probably finds its way into illicit distillation. For 1928 sugar is nearly as important a source of illicit liquor as corn sugar, and in 1929 it slightly exceeds it. In that year we estimate that seventy million gallons of proof spirits were made from cane and beet sugar.

Contrary to the popular impression, we believe that the illegal diversion of denatured alcohol for bootleg purposes is not as important a source of bootleg liquor today as either corn or cane sugar. In 1926, Dr. Doran estimated that from five to eight million gallons of specially denatured alcohol were diverted annually for illicit beverage alcohol. This would produce from ten to sixteen million gallons of proof spirits. Our conservative estimate, based on the legitimate uses of industrial alcohol, places the amount which is now produced from this source at about nine million gallons, which is equivalent to fifteen million gallons of proof spirits. Many close students of prohibition enforcement place the amount of liquor made from denatured alcohol much higher.

Molasses is an important source of illicit spirits. The greater part of molasses is used in the legitimate manufacture of industrial alcohol. Other uses have not increased. When we deduct the amount used for industrial alcohol and miscellaneous legitimate purposes, the balance probably finds its way into illicit spirits. The amount of illicit spirits made from molasses, about ten million gallons, is about equal to the amount made from corn meal and grain mash.

In spite of the growing popularity of corn sugar, we believe that corn meal and mash are still important sources of illicit distillation. Commissioner Doran recently reported that of the 15,792 stills seized during the year 1929, 11,928 were south of the Mason-Dixon Line, the Ohio River, and east of the Missouri River and the southern boundary of Missouri, including Texas and Oklahoma. He said that in these southern states the old-fashioned pot still is still used for the distillation of corn liquor from corn meal and white sugar. On the other hand, he finds that north of the Mason-Dixon Line and east of the Missouri River the chief material now used by illicit distillers is corn sugar. Since the southern states still lead in the illicit distillation of liquor in proportion to their population, we believe corn meal and mash account for a considerable portion of the hard liquor produced. Our calculations show that ten million gallons of

proof spirits are made from corn meal and grain mash.

There are a few other minor sources, which may for practical purposes be disregarded. In much of the bootleg whiskey of the "Scotch" type, malt syrup is used for flavoring purposes. Malt syrup used in this way produces some alcohol. It is impossible to estimate definitely how much is made from this source. We also estimate that about three million gallons of spirits are smuggled in from foreign countries and another two million gallons are withdrawn from bond for medicinal uses. Applejack, peach and apricot brandy are becoming increasingly popular, but we found it impossible to hazard a guess as to the amount of spirits of this kind distilled from fruits. Compared with other types, of course, it is negligible, and we have disregarded it in our estimate.

A COMPARISON OF ESTIMATES

We made three independent checks on our estimate from sources of production: seizures by federal agents, deaths from alcoholism and arrests for drunkenness. These checks confirm to a remarkable degree our tentative estimates from sources of production. In fact, they show that estimates from this source alone probably understate the actual production and consumption of liquor in this country under prohibition.

For the period from January to April, 1930, the Treasury Department gave the sources of material used for spirits which were seized by federal agents. The analyses showed that 51.8 per cent of the hard liquor seized had been made from corn sugar, 34.5 per cent from cane and beet sugar, 7.4 per cent from alcohol and alcoholic preparations, 4.9 per cent from molasses and 1.5 per cent from corn meal and grains. The seizures by federal agents may be considered fair samples of the materials used throughout the country in distilling hard liquor, except that the agents probably seize a larger proportion of corn sugar than corn meal because corn sugar is principally used in the large stills seized in urban centers. Nevertheless, there was very close agreement with the sources which we have found. According to our estimate, in 1929 36.1 per cent of the spirits manufactured came from corn sugar, 42.2 per cent from cane and beet sugar, 9.0 per cent from alcohol and alcoholic preparations, 6 per cent from molasses and 6 per cent from corn meal and grains.

As we have pointed our earlier, the deaths from alcoholism and cirrhosis are a rough indication of the amount of liquor consumed annually throughout the country. By a statistical analysis of the death rate from these causes, we have been able to estimate the quantity of alcoholic beverages consumed. This method was first checked by applying it to the pre-prohibition years in the United States, and also to those foreign countries which have accurate data on death rates and on liquor consumption. In every case the amount of alcohol estimated from the death rates tallies with the actual consumption figures given in this country before prohibition, and for a long series of years in those foreign countries, like Great Britain and Denmark, which have not adopted prohibition. We find in our estimate from sources of production that the per capita consumption of all liquors in this country, when reduced to pure alcohol, was 2.0 gallons in 1927 and 2.1 gallons in 1928. Estimated from the death rate the consumption in 1927 was 2.30 gallons, and in 1928, 2.35 gallons. This correlation strengthens our estimate from production, which we have already outlined, and justifies us, we believe, in increasing slightly our final estimate.

Arrests for drunkenness are not as sensitive an index of liquor consumption as deaths from alcoholism, because of variations in police policy and imperfections in police records. Nevertheless, the correlations worked out from arrests for drunkenness closely approximate those derived from deaths from alcoholism. This additional check also indicates that our estimate from sources alone is inadequate.

THE FINAL ESTIMATE

While we do not claim our calculations to be infallible, we believe that we are now consuming annually 790,000,000 gallons of beer, 110,000,000 gallons of wine and 200,000,000 gallons of spirits. The per capita consumption of beer is a little over one-fourth of the pre-war consumption. Wine consumption has nearly doubled, and spirits consumption is now about one-tenth in excess of the pre-war per capita rate.

The Drink Bill under Prohibition

We have calculated the cost to the consumer of the various types of liquor. We secured reports from thirty representative newspapers as to bootleg prices in their communities. Bootleg prices, however, can be applied to only a small

proportion of all liquor consumed. If we were to apply top bootleg prices to our estimates, the total drink bill would be appalling. With the exception of spirits, most liquor is made at home or purchased from neighborhood bootleggers at a fairly low retail price. We have found, for example, that home brew can be made for less than thirty cents a gallon. A considerable quantity of beer, however, is purchased in speakeasies by the glass, at from three to four dollars a gallon. Wine can be made from grapes for from eighty cents to a dollar a gallon. Wine made from unfermented grape juice which is sold by grape juice companies costs about $2.20 a gallon. Considerable wine is also bought from bootleggers and in speakeasies. Spirits can be made for less than one dollar a gallon, but comparatively little hard liquor is made at home for home use. Most of it is bought from bootleggers.

In our final estimate we have figured beer at a price slightly in excess of the production cost, namely, fifty cents a gallon. We have calculated the retail cost of wine at $2.30 a gallon, to strike a balance between the low cost of wine made directly from grapes at home, the cost of manufacturing it from grape juice on the market and the cost of wine purchased from bootleggers and in speakeasies. Even this figure is conservative. In our estimate of the cost of spirits (whiskey, gin, etc.) we have tried to strike a balance between the low cost of home-made spirits or "moonshine" and "white mule" bought from mountain stills in the South, and the excessive prices paid for whiskey and gin from the bootleg trade and over the bar in speakeasies. We believe that our average price of eleven dollars a gallon for spirits is conservative. In the following table we have summarized our estimate of the quantities of liquor available, the average retail price per gallon and the total cost:

Estimated Expenditures on Alcoholic Beverages, 1929

	Gallons	Per Capita Gallons	Retail Cost per Gallon	Total Cost
Beer....	790,000,000	6.50	$ .50	$ 395,000,000
Wine....	110,000,000	.90	2.30	253,000,000
Spirits...	200,000,000	1.65	11.00	2,200,000,000
				$2,848,000,000

Comparison with Foreign Countries

Some comparisons with liquor consumption in foreign countries in this connection are significant. Great Britain has reduced her consumption of hard liquor until in 1928 only .28 gallons of proof spirits per capita were consumed. This is less than one-third of our present consumption of hard liquor. Denmark's consumption of spirits is practically the same as Great Britain's, .54 liters of pure alcohol, which is equivalent to one liter of proof spirits, or a little over a quart. Sweden now consumes 4.5 liters of proof spirits, a little over a gallon by our standards. All of these countries except England were formerly large consumers of hard liquor. While the per capita drink bill of these foreign countries is in excess of our estimates for this country, it should be pointed out that a large share of the price paid for liquor in those countries goes to the government as liquor revenue. For example, in Great Britain liquor taxes now absorb over 45 per cent of the total drink bill of the nation. Deducting excise, customs, licenses and other duties, the net per capita drink bill in Great Britain in 1928 was $16.71. The per capita drink bill in the United States under prohibition is roughly $23.50. The net drink bill of Great Britain is therefore about 40 per cent lower than ours. In view of the much lower consumption rate in England, it is remarkable that the difference is not greater. The comparison indicates that our estimate of liquor prices in the United States is exceedingly low.

Even our conservative estimates bring the total drink bill today to nearly three billion dollars. The net saving in the drink bill can only be determined by calculating what we should have been spending for liquor if there were no prohibition, and deducting from that what we now spend.

The Pre-Prohibition Drink Bill

Before national prohibition the American Grocer, a trade paper, compiled estimates of the national drink bill. The method used was to add the average "mark-up" value to the known wholesale prices of wine, beer and spirits. In 1913, the peak year of liquor consumption before prohibition, the total drink bill for the country was estimated at $1,817,000,000. It should be noted that this bill included federal and state revenue. In order to make the figures comparable with those prevailing today it is necessary to deduct federal and state revenue and to arrive at the approximate net drink bill. Deduct-

ing federal and state revenues, the net drink bill in 1913 was $1,474,000,000.

It is not safe to base the estimate on any single year. We therefore took the average drink bill for the years 1911 to 1914, a four-year period antedating federal prohibition and most of the state restrictive laws. If we assume the same per capita consumption which prevailed in those years, the net drink bill in 1929, deducting federal and state revenue, would have been $1,907,500,000. To be generous we have increased this to $2,500,000,000, to allow for increased expenditures because of the increase in national wealth since 1920. We believe, therefore, that $2,500,000,000, exclusive of revenue, is a generous estimate of what we would have been spending today if there were no prohibition. We can find no basis for the sweeping claim that we should now be spending from $3,000,000,000 to $7,000,000,000 for drink if there were no prohibition.

No Saving in the Drink Bill

We do not claim that our estimate of the present liquor consumption and expenditures is final, though these estimates have been prepared with great care. They have been shown to numerous persons who have been studying the liquor question, and they have been criticized generally as being too conservative. Certainly if our estimate is anywhere near the truth, there has been no net saving in expenditures for drink, for according to our estimate we are spending well over $2,500,000,000 now, and by the most generous estimate we should not have been spending more than this amount even if national prohibition had not been adopted.

Workers' Share of Drink Bill

It is contended, however, that while undoubtedly large sums are spent by the well-to-do for liquor, there is practically no money spent by workers for liquor today. It is pointed out that most of the liquor consumed by workingmen today is a home-made product which can be made for a fraction of what liquor cost in the days of the unregulated saloon. It is impossible to estimate accurately what proportion of the national drink bill, either before or since prohibition, may be allocated to the wage-earning population. The budget estimates of the United States Labor Department in 1891 and 1918 are obviously understatements of liquor expenditures by workingmen's families, for they account for only one-fifth of the average family expenditures prevailing in those years. It is not unlikely that there has been some net gain in temperance among wage-earners through the abolition of the saloon. It can not be assumed, however, that the outlawing of the saloon has entirely eliminated excessive drinking. The record of arrests for drunkenness and deaths from alcoholism among industrial policy holders shows that liquor consumption is increasing among the working population. While it is admitted that workmen are spending less money for drink today because it can be produced more cheaply than formerly, it is equally clear from the estimates which we have given that the total net gain from the shift in the liquor trade can hardly account for the tremendous savings which have been credited to prohibition.

PROHIBITION AND WORKMEN'S EFFICIENCY

The proponents of the theory that prohibition has been an economic benefit to the country have two strings to their bow. When it is shown that present day expenditures for drink run into billions of dollars, they fall back on the claim that reduced liquor consumption on the part of workingmen is largely responsible for the increased industrial productivity which we have enjoyed since 1920, and has therefore indirectly contributed billions to national income. Most of these claims, when they are not mere guesses, are based upon laboratory experiments of the physiological effects of alcohol and not upon actual studies of the drink records of workmen compared with their productivity records.

It is impossible to measure accurately the effect of prohibition on productivity. Even admitting that liquor consumption on the part of workingmen has been reduced, the effect of such reduction is difficult to measure because it is so interwoven with other factors in productivity. The most that can be done in this brief outline is to review the outstanding factors in our increased productivity. If these factors are carefully considered, the margin within which improved individual efficiency due to reduced liquor consumption is a factor will be found to be narrow and insignificant.

We believe such a review can now be made with a fair degree of certainty because the study of "Recent Economic Changes," conducted by a committee headed by Herbert Hoover and completed in 1929, is now available. A group of distinguished economists collaborated in this

study. The report gives particular attention to the problem of productivity. In our summary we shall rely chiefly on the findings of this committee. Incidentally, it should be pointed out that in the two-volume report of the committee there is no reference whatever to prohibition as a factor in increased productivity. While the subject is admittedly controversial, this group of economists could hardly have avoided referring to prohibition as a factor if it had been one of outstanding importance.

Increase Not Uniform

The increase in output per worker has not been uniform. The increase has been greatest in the automotive and associated industries. It will be noted in the following table, which is taken from "Recent Economic Changes," that the automobile and rubber tire industries show by far the greatest increase in output per man-hour; while some of the older industries, such as flour milling and the manufacture of boots and shoes, have shown comparatively little increase in recent years. One obvious explanation for these differences is that the automobile industry, at the beginning of this period, was a relatively new one, and therefore more susceptible of improvement than those industries which have been in the process of evolution for over a century. Great strides have been made in the organization of the automotive industry since 1914, the base year, but the increase has been sharpest since 1919. The marked increase in output in the petroleum industry is due to a large extent to the rapid development of the automobile industry. The use of the automobile has created a vast market for gasoline and motor oil. In fact, automobiles now use 80 per cent of the gasoline output of the country. Not only did the automobile call for a greater output of gasoline, but the quality had to be greatly improved to meet the demands of modern motors.

It can hardly be contended that the workers in the industries at the head of this list are any more temperate in their habits than those near the bottom. It is obvious that the reason for the differences lies not so much in improved personal efficiency of the workers themselves as in the organization of the industry, over which they have relatively little control. It should also be noted that the rapid rise in output in the automobile industry has tended to pull up the total factory output of the entire country, since the automobile industry plays such an important part in our present industrial scheme.

Increase in Productivity per Man-Hour from 1914 to 1925

	Per Cent Increase
Industries in 1st Class	
Automobiles	210
Rubber Tires	211
Petroleum Refining	77
Cement Manufacture	58
Blast Furnaces	54
Steel and Rolling Mills	60
Industries in 2nd Class	
Flour Milling	39
Slaughtering and Meat Packing	27
Leather Tanning	28
Cane Sugar Refining	27
Paper and Wood Pulp	26
Boots and Shoes	17

Leading Factors in Increased Output

The report on "Recent Economic Changes" emphasizes five outstanding factors in productivity: 1, increased use of power; 2, improved machinery; 3, mass production; 4, personnel management and 5, industrial research.

Increased Use of Power

The transition from man power to machine power has proceeded more rapidly since prohibition than during any earlier comparable period. This is shown by the increase in the ratio of horse power to workers, as given in the accompanying table compiled from a study of the National Industrial Conference Board. From 1899 to 1914, a fifteen-year period, the increase in the use of horse power per wage-earner was 33.3 per cent; while in the eight-year period

Horse Power and Value of Product 1899 to 1927

Year	Horse Power per Wage-Earner	Reduced to 1914 Index	Value of Product per Wage-Earner Reduced to 1914 Index
			(1914 Dollars)
1899	2.11	66.6	86.4
1904	2.43	76.7	92.9
1909	2.80	88.3	100.3
1914	3.17	100.0	100.0
1919	3.24	102.2	98.1
1921	*	*	100.8
1923	3.77	118.9	122.8
1925	4.27	134.7	135.2
1927	4.65	146.7	*

*Figure not available.

from 1919 to 1927, which covers roughly the prohibition period, the increase was 44.5 per cent. The prohibition period is therefore a period of unusual growth in the use of mechanical power. The value of product has increased at practically the same rate as the increase in the application of mechanical power. These figures show most forcefully that the mechanization of industry is a most important factor in increased output per worker.

The increase in the value of product per wage-earner has made possible the increase in real wages which workers have enjoyed since 1919. Certainly the increased use of mechanical power has been an important factor in this change. The figures are eloquent testimony of the soundness of the old maxim: "Improved machinery makes men dear, their product cheap." Faced with a greatly restricted labor market because of limitation of immigration and other factors, American industry has been forced to find labor-saving devices and to use mechanical energy wherever possible as a substitute for human energy. This has not only brought about a reduction in the price of goods, but it is largely responsible for the increase in the wage level as well.

Improved Machinery

According to the report: "Manufacturing machinery is one of the production factors that were shown in the first section of this chapter to have had a marked change in amount following 1919, and presumably as having had a major influence upon the increase of productivity per man-hour which exhibited itself following 1921." The increased use of machinery obviously is a factor outside the control of the individual worker.

Mass Production

Mass production is by no means a new phenomenon in the American economic scheme, but according to the report of the Committee on Recent Economic Changes the war did much to focus attention upon the advantages of mass production. The war also greatly expanded our industrial equipment and stimulated an effort to keep that equipment in continuous operation. It has also led to a decided movement toward the use of automatic and semi-automatic machinery. In other words, the effort to produce a large quantity of products at a low labor cost has obliged industries to use every device to bring about a more efficient use of plant and men.

Personnel Management

According to Mr. Henry S. Dennison, one of the collaborators in the study, personnel management was first introduced in this country at the time of our entrance into the World War. He says: "With the business stagnation and glutted labor market of 1921, they (the personnel managers) were virtually swept away, but they left behind them new practices, and old ones modified: psychological and trade tests, job analyses and classifications, rating scales, systematic training, and shop committees. What is of more importance is that they left a habit in the business mind of considering personnel management as a difficult, distinct, and major function of business management."

It would be futile to attempt to measure the effect of better personnel management on factory output, but leading economists believe it to be a factor of outstanding importance. Like improved machinery, personnel management is a factor quite outside the control of the worker himself. The movement for better handling of personnel is peculiar to the prohibition period, and its growth indicates that any improvement in workers' efficiency because of more temperate habits is, by comparison, a factor of negligible importance.

Industrial Research

Somewhat akin to the new interest in personnel management is the rapid increase in industrial research as a characteristic of our economic development since the war. Mr. Henry S. Dennison, says in "Recent Economic Changes": "Research through the material sciences got a great start during the war, and much support during the days of excess profits taxation which followed. It has now progressed so far that many kinds of organization have been set up for it; there are company, joint, consulting, and trade association laboratories, and co-operating research services in universities." A statistical study of 599 manufacturing groups which replied to a questionnaire sent out by the National Research Council in 1928 showed that 52 per cent reported that they were carrying on research as a company activity; 7 per cent conducted testing laboratories, and 41 per cent reported no research activities. Scientific research has undoubtedly resulted in labor-saving devices and a more economical use of man power generally.

We have merely indicated a few of the outstanding factors responsible for increased pro-

ductivity. There are, of course, many other minor factors which in the aggregate may be quite as important, but which are difficult to evaluate. Moreover, in all economic discussions a one-sided presentation of facts is to be avoided. Productivity can not be considered apart from other phases of our economic life. Mass production is not possible unless a wide market can be found, both at home and abroad, for the goods which are produced. New enterprises can not be undertaken, or old ones increased, unless the country has ample capital reserves which are seeking investment. The credit structure of the nation has also a marked effect on productivity, in keeping industry moving and avoiding some of the peaks and troughs of the business cycle.

In the whole field of distribution and consumption of goods there have been marked changes which have affected productivity, as well as prosperity in general. These will be dealt with later in the discussion.

Monday Absences

Before leaving the question of productivity of workers some reference should be made to "Monday absences." It has been so frequently and persistently claimed that prohibition has eliminated Monday absences, which were a problem before prohibition, that it has come to be a generally accepted fact. No adequate proof has ever been offered for such claims. Opinion evidence, it is true, has been collected from a number of industrialists who believe that Monday absences are no longer a problem, and that reduced liquor consumption is largely responsible for the change. On the other hand, industrialists equally prominent say that there has been no change in this problem due to prohibition. No one has collected the factory records both for the period antedating prohibition and for the prohibition period itself, which are necessary to settle this disputed point. A few general considerations, however, may safely be offered.

While it is not known whether Monday absences are less frequent now than they were before 1920, the change, if any, could easily be attributed to a number of other factors quite apart from the question of intemperance. Personnel management has undoubtedly had a marked effect not only in reducing labor turnover, but in securing better attendance records, and eliminating from plants workers whose attendance records, because of drink or other factors, are unsatisfactory. It is quite conceivable that this gleaning-out process would go far to

solve the problem of Monday absences, even if the sale of liquor had remained unrestricted. A more important consideration, however, is the great improvement in standard of living among workingmen made possible by better wages, shorter hours of work, better opportunities for recreation and amusement. It is certainly true that many large corporations have introduced "welfare" activities, such as medical examination facilities, visiting nurses and a wide variety of activities designed to prevent absences from work and tardiness. While these efforts have probably not been wholly effective, certainly they have gone far to reduce absence and tardiness, and whatever improvement there has been can be quite as fairly attributed to these activities as to an improvement in temperance among workers.

INCREASE IN SAVINGS

We believe our estimate of the present expenditures for drink and our analysis of the leading factors in industrial productivity dispose of most of the claims that prohibition has created a vast fund which has been diverted either to savings or to the purchase of other types of commodities. Ignoring evidence of this kind, savings bank statistics are frequently quoted to indicate the unprecedented increase in the savings of working people made possible by prohibition.

There has been no phenomenal increase in savings in this country since 1920, in spite of the general prosperity which we have enjoyed throughout most of this period. The total savings deposits of all kinds, including time deposits, increased from $6,835,000,000 in 1910 to $13,040,000,000 in 1919. The year 1919 marked the beginning of a sharp rise in savings, for in 1920 deposits totalled $15,314,000,000—an increase of 10 per cent. The increase in 1920 was the greatest of any year from 1910 to 1929. In no year since 1920 has the increase exceeded 10 per cent. In 1928, $28,413,000,000 were on deposit, but in 1929 deposits fell off to $28,202,000,000.

Expressed in a different way, the average annual increase in all savings deposits from 1910 to 1919 was 7.4 per cent. From 1920 to 1929 it was 7.1, a slight decline during the prohibition period. A similar decrease is noted since 1920 in per capita savings. For the nine years before prohibition, the average annual increase in per capita savings was 6 per cent. Since prohibition it has been only 5.5 per cent.

There is a marked shrinkage in savings if time deposits are excluded. Time deposits represent in large measure the funds of corporations. They are not savings in the ordinary sense, though they are usually included in reports of savings deposits. The reduction in the reserve required for time deposits by the Federal Reserve Board has encouraged banks to solicit deposits from corporations and large investors, and has led the latter to transfer demand deposits to time deposits. This tendency has been most marked since 1919. Deposits in mutual savings banks, which represent largely the savings of wage-earners, increased from $4,070,000,000 in 1910 to $5,903,000,000 in 1919. By 1920, however, the deposits had increased to $6,538,000,000, an annual increase of 9.3 per cent, the highest recorded for any year since 1910. Since 1927 the rate of increase in "true" savings deposits has declined.

The accompanying table (see page 37), which gives the figures for each year, shows that there have been marked fluctuations in savings deposits. The increases in 1919 and 1920 are doubtless attributable in part to the high wages and steady employment prevailing then, and in part to the fact that liquor consumption was at its lowest ebb in those years. We have never reached that level since. If prohibition had been an important factor in increased savings we should expect it to have a cumulative effect. We should expect to see a steady rise in the annual increase in savings throughout the entire period, but the reverse has occurred. The first year of prohibition (1920) showed the best record, while 1929, the last year for which we have figures, shows the worst record for any year since 1910.

Savings deposits are dependent on the prosperity of the country and upon the amount of national income available. No one can deny that from 1922 to 1929 the country experienced an era of prosperity. The ratio of savings to national income is a better index of growth than per capita savings. The percentage of annual national income which went into savings bank deposits, exclusive of time deposits, was exactly the same for the pre-prohibition and the prohibition periods. For 1910 to 1919 inclusive the average annual percentage of national income placed in savings banks was .6 per cent; since 1920 the percentage has remained exactly the same.

In this connection a few comparisons with other countries which have adopted forms of liquor control different from ours are significant.

In the Dominion of Canada, from 1920 to 1923 all of the provinces except Quebec and British Columbia had prohibition. The per capita savings deposits in savings banks declined from $155 in 1920 to $141 in 1924. In 1923 two of the western provinces, Manitoba and Alberta, adopted liquor control. In 1926 New Brunswick and in 1927 the large province of Ontario adopted liquor control. Since 1924 per capita savings deposits have increased from $141 to $166 in 1928. We do not place undue emphasis on the more favorable showing in Canada in recent years because general economic conditions have probably not been altogether similar to those in the United States. At any rate, under legal sale of liquor Canada has increased her savings deposits, while they declined under prohibition.

Other Forms of Saving

The increase in the amount of insurance in force and the growth of deposits in building and loan associations are also cited as indicating the benefits of prohibition. An analysis of available figures shows that prohibition could have had little to do with the increase in these forms of saving. The supplementary table (see page 38) shows that there has been a marked increase in the amount of insurance in force. The increase, however, was greatest in 1920, the first year in which prohibition was fully effective. The rate of increase declined in 1921, due doubtless to the business slump in that year. In no year since 1920 has the rate of increase been as great as it was in 1919 and 1920. The increase in new insurance written each year shows that the rate of increase has been greatest in group insurance, which is carried chiefly by the employer for the benefit of workers.

The marked increase in insurance purchased immediately after the war is due chiefly to the educational effect of wartime insurance, carried by the government for four million men in service, and also to the decline in the value of the dollar. Many people automatically increased their insurance to meet the higher price level prevailing at that time. Better methods of salesmanship, newer forms of policy and increased confidence because of the sound condition of most companies are also important factors in the steady increase in insurance funds.

Building and loan associations are intended primarily to assist workingmen to purchase their homes on the instalment plan, simply and economically. Because they usually pay higher rates of interest on deposits than savings banks they

are popular also as savings institutions. Assets of building and loan associations have increased from $2,534,320,000 in 1920 to $8,016,034,327 in 1928, an increase of 216 per cent. This rate is nearly four times as great as that for savings banks. The rapid increase in building and loan assets is largely attributable to rapid growth of suburban communities during the past ten years, which has created a demand for new dwellings.

Of the seven billion dollars required for building construction in 1927, building and loan associations, according to the United States Department of Commerce, furnished two billion dollars in loans. Most of this went into the construction of private dwellings. Moreover, assets of building and loan associations are more cumulative in effect than savings deposits because of the plan upon which building and loan associations operate. Withdrawals are more difficult than in savings banks and additional incentives are offered for keeping funds on deposit. Shares maturing in from ten to twelve years may be purchased in monthly instalments. For this reason building and loan assets pile up in much the same manner as life insurance funds.

INCREASED PURCHASING POWER

It is frequently claimed that prohibition has made possible the increased sale of automobiles, radios, mechanical refrigerators and similar household appliances. Except during the first three years of prohibition there has probably been no net saving in the drink bill, so that there is in fact really no basis for such claims. Nevertheless, the spectacular rise in the sale of certain commodities is frequently pointed out as evidence of the increased purchasing power made possible by the saving in the drink bill. Most of the commodities usually referred to in this connection are of recent origin, the assumption being that their sale was impossible before prohibition. We find fewer references to the sales of older commodities, such as pianos, furniture and clothing. Radio receiving sets such as we have now were unknown before prohibition. The perfection of the process of voice transmission is a post-war development. Radio instruments for the reception of broadcast programs were not possible before 1920, because the inventions, discoveries and improvements necessary to bring the radio to this point had not been made.

It is, of course, utterly fallacious to argue that the increased sale of certain commodities like automobiles, radios and household appliances is

proof of a "new purchasing power" made possible by saving in the drink bill. In the first place, the total annual expenditure for such commodities is far in excess of what would be saved if liquor expenditures had been entirely eliminated. Moreover, such reasoning ignores the fact that habits of consumption are constantly changing. The public is continually substituting one form of commodity for another, without greatly affecting total expenditures and without recourse to a mysterious "new purchasing power." For example, radios have largely replaced talking machines, pianos and other musical instruments. Even automobiles are largely replacements of horse-drawn vehicles.

There are, of course, many factors responsible for the changing habits of consumption and for entirely new types of consumption. The steady increase in national income is the most important factor. Instalment selling, high pressure salesmanship and modern advertising are doubtless equally important, though difficult to measure exactly. Certainly instalment selling has made its greatest advance since the war. Advertising is conducted on a more colossal scale than ever in our history. Melvin T. Copeland, in "Recent Economic Changes," estimates that in 1927 over a billion and a half was spent on all forms of advertising. Because of the rapid increase in radio advertising, the sum is now probably not far from two billion. Leonard Ayres has shown that from 1927 to June, 1930, radio advertising increased 700 per cent, while newspaper and magazine advertising remained at practically the same level. The purpose of advertising is either to create new wants or to stimulate the demand for older commodities. The two billions spent for advertising are a rough index of the effort constantly employed to effect changes in purchasing habits.

Automobiles

The increased sale of automobiles is perhaps the most astounding development in purchasing power that any country has ever experienced. Much of the increase occurred before prohibition began, for in 1910 there were only 458,500 passenger cars in use, but in 1920 there were 8,225,859, an increase of over 1,300 per cent. The number has steadily increased from 1920, until in 1929 there were 23,121,589 cars in use, an increase of 181 per cent. While as recently as 1910 automobiles were relatively rare, the industry gained its greatest impetus in the ten pre-prohibition years. Instalment purchasing has

been an important factor in increasing the production and sale of automobiles. According to the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce in 1927, 61 per cent of all cars, both new and second hand, were sold on the instalment plan. By 1929 it had increased to 64 per cent. Magazine advertising of passenger cars increased from $3,479,561 in 1921 to $11,937,328 in 1927. Again this figure does not include advertising purchased through daily newspapers and the smaller periodicals, or the cost of advertising automobiles through radio broadcasting.

Radio Sets

According to the Department of Commerce, only 60,000 radio sets were in use in 1922, but in 1928 7,500,000 sets were in use. More recent trade estimates put the number at nearly 15,000,000. The rapid increase in radio sales is, in our judgment, attributable to two factors: first, invention and discovery in the radio field; and second, large-scale national advertising. For example, appropriations for magazine advertising for radios increased from $79,896 in 1922 to $3,428,159 in 1927. These figures, however, give only a fraction of the money spent in advertising radios, for they do not take into account the large sums expended in advertising through radio broadcasting programs, and advertising carried in newspapers and the less important periodicals. The development of instalment buying has, of course, stimulated the sale of radios, along with other commodities commonly placed in a luxury class.

Household Appliances

Mechanical refrigerators for homes, both gas and electric, are likewise new commodities, though the scientific principles on which they are constructed have long been known and used in large-scale production of ice. The increase in the sale of mechanical refrigerators for home use is also due to new inventions and discoveries and to large-scale advertising. In 1923 it is estimated that $44,642 were spent in advertising mechanical refrigerators in magazines, but by 1927 the appropriations had reached $1,517,836. Instalment buying has also been applied to the purchase of refrigerators. It has been estimated that in 1925, 90 per cent of the refrigerators were sold through instalment contracts, and there is no reason to believe that the proportion has decreased since then. According to "Electrical Merchandising," 27,000 mechanical refrigerators were in use in 1923, while in 1928 the number

was 755,000. The use of mechanical refrigerators, however, is not so universal as many suppose, for in 1928 only 5 per cent of all homes wired for electricity had electrical refrigerators.

The increased sale of certain household articles, such as electric irons, toasters and washing machines, is frequently attributed to prohibition. Other factors, however, can account for all of the increase in such sales. The scarcity of domestic servants is an important factor. In "Recent Economic Changes," Leo Wolman shows that during the period of immigration restriction from 1921 to 1927, there was a great reduction in the number of household servants entering from foreign countries. He estimates that the loss from this source alone was 354,000. When we consider the decrease in immigration from 1914 to 1921, it can be estimated that roughly 900,000 fewer servants have entered the country since 1914 than would have entered if present-day restrictions had not been imposed. The difficulty of securing servants is largely responsible for the development of household conveniences of all sorts, which are aimed to relieve the drudgery of housekeeping. The increase in the number of women gainfully employed outside has also been a factor in creating a demand for household conveniences which will lighten household duties. Magazine advertising of electric vacuum cleaners and similar articles increased from $593,294, in 1921 to $1,483,964 in 1927.

Increased Sale of Milk

The increased use of milk and other dairy products is frequently cited as one of the distinct gains of prohibition. The implication is that the disappearance of the saloon has led to the substitution of milk and related foods for alcoholic beverages. There has been, it is true, a marked increase in milk consumption. In 1919 38,619,000,000 pounds of milk were consumed for household use. In 1926 56,417,000,000 pounds were so used. This is equivalent to an increase of 33 per cent in per capita consumption. The per capita consumption of cheese during the same period increased 27 per cent.

Leo Wolman, in "Recent Economic Changes," gives the following reasons for the increased use of dairy products: "Higher purchasing power of consumers is undoubtedly one. Greater assurance of safety in the use of whole milk, as a result of public inspections and improved private practices, is another which has had cumulative effects. Wider appreciation of the special virtues of these foods, as a result of medical advice,

been an important factor in increasing the production and sale of automobiles. According to the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce in 1927, 61 per cent of all cars, both new and second hand, were sold on the instalment plan. By 1929 it had increased to 64 per cent. Magazine advertising of passenger cars increased from $3,479,561 in 1921 to $11,937,328 in 1927. Again this figure does not include advertising purchased through daily newspapers and the smaller periodicals, or the cost of advertising automobiles through radio broadcasting.

Radio Sets

According to the Department of Commerce, only 60,000 radio sets were in use in 1922, but in 1928 7,500,000 sets were in use. More recent trade estimates put the number at nearly 15,000,000. The rapid increase in radio sales is, in our judgment, attributable to two factors: first, invention and discovery in the radio field; and second, large-scale national advertising. For example, appropriations for magazine advertising for radios increased from $79,896 in 1922 to $3,428,159 in 1927. These figures, however, give only a fraction of the money spent in advertising radios, for they do not take into account the large sums expended in advertising through radio broadcasting programs, and advertising carried in newspapers and the less important periodicals. The development of instalment buying has, of course, stimulated the sale of radios, along with other commodities commonly placed in a luxury class.

Household Appliances

Mechanical refrigerators for homes, both gas and electric, are likewise new commodities, though the scientific principles on which they are constructed have long been known and used in large-scale production of ice. The increase in the sale of mechanical refrigerators for home use is also due to new inventions and discoveries and to large-scale advertising. In 1923 it is estimated that $44,642 were spent in advertising mechanical refrigerators in magazines, but by 1927 the appropriations had reached $1,517,836. Instalment buying has also been applied to the purchase of refrigerators. It has been estimated that in 1925, 90 per cent of the refrigerators were sold through instalment contracts, and there is no reason to believe that the proportion has decreased since then. According to "Electrical Merchandising," 27,000 mechanical refrigerators were in use in 1923, while in 1928 the number

was 755,000. The use of mechanical refrigerators, however, is not so universal as many suppose, for in 1928 only 5 per cent of all homes wired for electricity had electrical refrigerators.

The increased sale of certain household articles, such as electric irons, toasters and washing machines, is frequently attributed to prohibition. Other factors, however, can account for all of the increase in such sales. The scarcity of domestic servants is an important factor. In "Recent Economic Changes," Leo Wolman shows that during the period of immigration restriction from 1921 to 1927, there was a great reduction in the number of household servants entering from foreign countries. He estimates that the loss from this source alone was 354,000. When we consider the decrease in immigration from 1914 to 1921, it can be estimated that roughly 900,000 fewer servants have entered the country since 1914 than would have entered if present-day restrictions had not been imposed. The difficulty of securing servants is largely responsible for the development of household conveniences of all sorts, which are aimed to relieve the drudgery of housekeeping. The increase in the number of women gainfully employed outside has also been a factor in creating a demand for household conveniences which will lighten household duties. Magazine advertising of electric vacuum cleaners and similar articles increased from $593,294, in 1921 to $1,483,964 in 1927.

Increased Sale of Milk

The increased use of milk and other dairy products is frequently cited as one of the distinct gains of prohibition. The implication is that the disappearance of the saloon has led to the substitution of milk and related foods for alcoholic beverages. There has been, it is true, a marked increase in milk consumption. In 1919 38,619,000,000 pounds of milk were consumed for household use. In 1926 56,417,000,000 pounds were so used. This is equivalent to an increase of 33 per cent in per capita consumption. The per capita consumption of cheese during the same period increased 27 per cent.

Leo Wolman, in "Recent Economic Changes," gives the following reasons for the increased use of dairy products: "Higher purchasing power of consumers is undoubtedly one. Greater assurance of safety in the use of whole milk, as a result of public inspections and improved private practices, is another which has had cumulative effects. Wider appreciation of the special virtues of these foods, as a result of medical advice,

the work of school and district nurses, the circulation of literature on child feeding, home economics teaching, and commercial advertising, has probably been a major factor." In one of the very few references to prohibition in "Recent Economic Changes" Wolman adds this observation: "The closing of the saloons has had a double influence through setting free income formerly spend for liquor, and through promoting the spread of places where milk beverages and ice cream are served."

We believe that the major factors listed by Wolman, apart from the problematical effect of the disappearance of the old-time saloon, can quite adequately account for an increase of one-third in the per capita consumption of milk since 1919. It should be noted that the increase was greatest from 1919 to 1922, possibly due to the fact that alcoholic consumption was at its lowest level at that time, an increase of 20.9 per cent; while from 1923 to 1926 the increase was 11.9 per cent.

Other Changes in Food Consumption

There have been noticeable shifts in the consumption of various articles of food. The per capita consumption of wheat flour has been reduced from 211 pounds in 1909 to 177 pounds in 1925, a decrease of 16 per cent. In 1909 we consumed, per capita, 58 pounds of corn meal, and in 1925 only 23 pounds—a decrease of 60 per cent. On the other hand, there has been a rapid increase in the consumption of fresh vegetables and perishable foods. This tendency is attributable not only to the increase in per capita wealth, but also to better methods of refrigeration and transportation, which make the marketing of perishable foods possible. The craze for "reducing," particularly among women, has made sweet and starchy foods unpopular. Because work requires less expenditure of energy, foods rich in calories are less in demand than formerly.

Clothing

There have been noticeable changes in purchases of clothing. Silk and rayon have largely displaced cotton and wool in the choice of underwear. Lighter outdoor clothing for both men and women has effected a slight decrease in the total wool consumption. The increased use of silk, therefore, does not necessarily indicate greater expenditures for clothing.

OTHER FACTORS IN PROSPERITY

In evaluating the effect of any single factor on the economic welfare of the country, the problem must be given a proper setting. Our present industrial and economic system is probably the most complex in history. In our discussion of savings and purchasing power we have tried to indicate the interrelation of various parts of our economic structure, but a few further generalizations are needed.

Perhaps the fundamental fallacy running through most of the statements of the economic benefits of prohibition is that they assume that prohibition must be in large measure responsible for the prosperity we have enjoyed for most of the period in which it has been in force. If prohibition were an outstanding factor in prosperity, the effect should be cumulative. We should expect less favorable results at first, but steady improvement in later years. As a matter of fact, the reverse has apparently occurred. Shortly after the Eighteenth Amendment became effective we experienced a serious business depression which lasted from February, 1920, to September, 1921. Yet it was at this time that, according to all indexes of intemperance, liquor consumption was at its lowest ebb.

Following the 1921 depression a period of general prosperity intervened which lasted until July, 1929. From that time on there was a noticeable decline in business activity, followed by the stock market crash in October of that year. General business conditions throughout the summer of 1930 have been from 10 to 15 per cent below normal, according to various indexes, with no indication of improvement early in September. It can hardly be contended that any important change in prohibition enforcement has brought about the recent slump. Indeed, the past two years have been characterized by renewed efforts to make prohibition effective.

Business cycles, characterized by alternating periods of boom and depression, are by no means a new phenomenon. They have occurred in the past with remarkable regularity. For example, the period from June, 1907, to June, 1908, was one of depression, culminating in a money panic in the winter of 1908. From February, 1913, to December, 1914, we experienced another depression. Each of these periods was preceded and followed by a period of prosperity.

Economists who have given particular study to business cycles believe that they can be made less frequent and less severe by better handling

of credit, marketing, production and other business processes. During the past ten years certain changes in our economic structure have been made which, economists believe, have contributed to the prosperity we have enjoyed for the period from 1921 to 1929. These changes are discussed with authority and in great detail in "Recent Economic Changes." We can not attempt even to summarize them here, but we can indicate at least the most outstanding factors responsible for our recent prosperity.

According to "Recent Economic Changes," "Acceleration rather than structural change is the key to an understanding of our recent economic developments. Gradually the fact emerged during the course of this survey that the distinctive character of the years from 1922 to 1929 owes less to fundamental change than to intensified activity." Throughout the entire discussion emphasis is placed on the key-note of acceleration, as distinct from actually new departures in method.

Increase in "Real" Wages

The increased per capita income and the slowly falling price level, with an increase in real wages, are factors of major importance. They have made it possible for our domestic market to absorb the vast amount of goods turned out in our system of mass production. In this way national income has stimulated production, while it has made possible a higher standard of living for the working population.

The doctrine of high wages is distinctly characteristic of the period since 1920. Immediately following the World War there was considerable talk of reducing wages of workers, which rose to unprecedented heights during the war, as part of the process of "liquidation." But wages were not "liquidated" to any marked degree. The talk of wage reduction gave way to a new theory of the advantage of high wages. According to "Recent Economic Changes": "Instead of believing that every cent paid as increased wages must come from the investor's return, or else from ultimate consumers, it is now widely believed that, where an appropriate increase in productivity can go along with an increase in wages, the consequent increase in purchasing power results not only in higher standards of living and better states of health, but also in increases in the quantities and varieties of goods which can be sold."

The increase in national income and the doctrine of high wages have therefore contributed materially to the increased purchasing power of

the American people, and have also increased capital funds for investment in various enterprises.

Productivity and Prosperity

We have already referred to the marked rise in productivity. We mention it here simply to indicate that the economies which have been effected on the production side have had the effect of lowering prices of commodities while they have increased profits for many producers. Beside the factors which we have already indicated as responsible for the increase in output per worker, attention should also be called to the elimination of waste in industry through reducing of needless lines of goods. It has been estimated that as a result of the work of the Hoover Commission on Waste in Industry, $600,000,000 annually have been saved through "simplified business practice."

Improved Credit

There has been a marked change in the credit structure of the country, particularly since 1920. This movement really began with the creation of the Federal Reserve Bank in 1914. While this system proved its worth in the enormous financing during the war, conditions prior to 1919 were hardly typical. Our improved national banking system has given the producer the assurance of stable and ample credit. It has also speeded up the transfer of money and credit, and has linked together various parts of the country so that they can function more smoothly.

Hand-to-Mouth Buying

Many economists believe that excessive inventories in years past have been an important factor in the losses sustained by manufacturers and distributors during periods of falling prices. So-called hand-to-mouth buying, while not new, has become increasingly popular since the slump of 1920 and 1921. At that time many merchants and manufacturers who had stocked their shelves and warehouses with goods at high prices, were ruined when prices fell rapidly. This was a practical demonstration to many of the folly of buying in excess of immediate needs. Melvin T. Copeland, in "Recent Economic Changes," estimates that the inventory requirements of 241 industrial corporations in 1927 were $375,900,000 less than they would have been if the 1922 ratio had prevailed.

The Automobile

The rapid rise of automobile production and

sale has probably been the most important single factor in giving speed and vitality to industry since 1920. The ramifications of the automotive industry are simply amazing. In 1929 427,459 persons were employed directly in the manufacture of automobiles. The National Automobile Chamber of Commerce estimates that, directly and indirectly, 4,700,459 workers get their living from the automobile industry. Automobile manufacturers use 18 per cent of the steel produced in this country, 84 per cent of the rubber, and 73 per cent of the plate glass; and 80 per cent of the gasoline output is consumed by automobiles.

The automobile has also greatly aided transportation and intercommunication between various parts of the country. Rural districts are now linked more closely to towns and cities. It has tended to standardize the market for goods. It has aided in the development of suburban areas, thus stimulating the building of private houses.

EFFECT ON CERTAIN ECONOMIC GROUPS

There has been considerable speculation as to the economic loss sustained by those who were formerly directly engaged in the legitimate manufacture, transportation and sale of intoxicating liquor, and also by other groups such as farmers, bottlers, coopers and others who supplied the materials used in the manufacture of intoxicating liquors. From the previous discussion it must be obvious that the shift from a highly concentrated and efficient industry to a scattered and inefficient one has brought about some serious maladjustments. The illicit liquor industry now assumes an important role in our economic life. We have already shown that we are now producing more hard liquor and more wine than before prohibition, while the gross output of beer is relatively half what it was before the war.

Breweries and Distilleries

It is impossible in this brief outline to attempt to strike a balance between the old regime and the new, and thus appraise the net economic loss because of the radical shift in the liquor industry. Herman Feldman, in his book "Prohibition—Its Economic and Industrial Aspects," has given considerable attention to this phase of the problem. With regard to brewery property, Feldman reports that the investment in such property, which

in 1914 amounted to $792,914,000, is almost a total loss. A few breweries have been able to convert their plants to other uses, such as the manufacture of cereal beverages, cheese, ice cream, etc., but in the great majority of cases brewers were forced to "junk" their property or to sell it at a mere fraction of its original value. Similarly, the $91,000,000 invested in distilleries has been an almost total loss. A few of the distillery properties were converted for the manufacture of industrial alcohol, but since most industrial alcohol is made from blackstrap molasses, that industry has shifted from Kentucky, Illinois and other states to Louisiana and other states which are near the source of supply. Only a few of the large distilleries operating before prohibition have been able to use their plants for this purpose.

Former Employees

Before prohibition, roughly 70,000 wage-earners were employed in the manufacture of beer, wine and spirits. The census of 1910 lists 101,000 bar tenders and 68,000 saloon keepers. This indicates that at least 240,000 wage-earners were earning their living in the liquor trades. In addition to this number a fairly large number of glass blowers, coopers and others was engaged in industries which supplied materials for brewers and distillers. It is, of course, impossible to tell to what extent those formerly engaged in the liquor traffic have found employment in other industries. It would also be unfair to assume that the majority of men engaged in the illicit liquor trade today have been recruited from former brewery and distillery employees and from bar tenders and saloon keepers, but some replacement of this sort has doubtless taken place. There is no accurate record of the number who are now making their living from the illicit liquor traffic. The number actually convicted of violations of the Volstead Act each year is probably only a small proportion of the total number engaged. At any rate, in 1928 and 1929, 58,813 and 56,546 persons respectively were convicted under the Volstead Act. Of this number only 15,793 in 1928 and 19,074 in 1929 were given jail sentences. The great majority were let off with fines. Most of those sent to jail were given only short sentences. There is, therefore, considerable duplication in the figures. Because the industry is so decentralized and is conducted on such an inefficient basis, it is not unlikely that more persons are making a living from the liquor

traffic today than before prohibition became effective.

Prohibition and the Farmer

We have given considerable study to the farmers' loss of market for certain grains because of prohibition. Reports of the United States Department of Agriculture show that before prohibition less than 2 per cent of the corn crop was used in distilling and brewing, while a little less than a third of the barley crop was so used. In 1916 the brewers alone used 52,400,000 bushels of barley out of a total crop of 182,000,000 bushels.

If prohibition had been 100 per cent effective, therefore, the farmers would have lost a market for somewhere between 2 and 3 per cent of their entire grain crop. We have already shown that under prohibition we are now producing 200,000,000 gallons of spirits, nearly 800,000,000 gallons of beer, and over 110,000,000 gallons of wine. We are therefore using larger quantities of grain for the distilling of hard liquors than we did before prohibition. The grape growers of California and other states have greatly increased their market for grapes, while the farmers have lost a large part of their market for hops and barley. Barley production has actually increased under prohibition, but it is now used largely as a feed grain and is sold at a much lower price. Perhaps the most serious effect has been that farmers have lost a market for the best grades of barley, which were formerly purchased by brewers at premium prices.

While in the long run prohibition has not had a serious effect on the farm problem, it has no doubt worked considerable hardship in certain sections of the country where farmers formerly were able to ship their entire crops of corn direct to large distilleries in their territory. From reliable reports which we have received it is apparent that prohibition has had this effect in certain sections of Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and other middle western states. But if the middle western farmer has lost his market for corn, the southern states, where illicit distilling flourishes on a large scale, have profited. In other sections many farmers are converting some of their grain and fruit crops into illicit liquor to bring some ready cash.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There has been no net saving in the drink bill. Under prohibition we are probably spending $2,848,000,000 a year on drink. This exceeds the most liberal estimate of what we should have been spending if the Eighteenth Amendment had never been enacted.

There is no evidence that prohibition has had any effect on the productivity of labor. The increased output of workers can be accounted for by the increased use of power, improved machinery, mass production, personnel management, and similar factors which are quite outside the control of the individual worker. Our analysis of the causes of increased productivity is based on the report of Mr. Hoover's Committee on Recent Economic Changes. The report of this distinguished committee nowhere mentions prohibition as a factor in the increased output of workingmen.

Prohibition has had no appreciable effect on savings. Not only has there been no real reduction in liquor expenditures, but savings have merely kept pace with increases in national income.

Prohibition has added no mysterious fund to the purchasing power of the nation. The increase in national wealth, especially the rise in real wages, is really responsible for the greater purchasing power since 1920. Moreover, it is utterly fallacious to credit the increase in the sales of automobiles, radios, mechanical refrigerators and electrical equipment to prohibition. These are all relatively new commodities; many of them were unknown or undeveloped before 1920. Inventions, improvement in design, together with instalment buying and large scale advertising, have made possible the widening market for such commodities.

Prohibition and prosperity have not gone hand in hand. We had a serious business depression in 1921, at a time when liquor consumption was at a low ebb and when the illicit liquor industry was still in its infancy. From 1921 to 1929 we experienced a period of sustained prosperity, except for a mild recession in 1927. Throughout this period there was a steady increase in liquor consumption. Notwithstanding the fact that during the past two years every effort has been made to make prohibition enforcement effective, we are once more in a serious business depression.

It is impossible to determine accurately the workingmen's share of the drink bill, either before or since prohibition. There may possibly

have been some reduction in liquor consumption during the past ten years. Beer was formerly the favorite drink of American workingmen. The present per capita consumption of beer is a little over one-fourth the pre-war consumption. On the other hand, the consumption of spirits now exceeds the pre-war rate, and many workmen have undoubtedly acquired a taste for hard liquor. If there has been any reduction in liquor expenditures for workmen it is chiefly because wine, beer and even spirits can be made at home at much lower cost than liquor could be purchased from saloons before prohibition. The outlawing of the saloon, even if the speakeasy had not arisen in its place, would not be entirely responsible for whatever gain there has been in temperance among workers. Shorter hours of work have given the American workman more leisure time to enjoy the radio, the movie and the motor car. Without any doubt, this different use of leisure time would have resulted in a reduction in intemperance among workingmen even though prohibition had never been attempted.

TABLE I

Savings Deposits in the United States

Year Ending June 30	Total Savings Deposits (Millions)	Deposits in Savings Banks (Millions)	Per Capita Savings Deposits in		Per Cent Increase in Per Capita Savings Deposits in		Estimated National Income of Previous Year (Millions)	Increase in Savings as Per Cent of National Income in	
			All Banks	Savings Banks	All Banks	Savings Banks		All Banks	Savings Banks
1910	$6,835	$4,070	$74.08	$44.12	.....	7.7	$30,200	.....	1.2
1911	7,963	4,213	85.00	44.97	14.7	1.9	32,900	3.4	0.4
1912	8,404	4,452	88.38	46.81	4.0	4.1	32,700	1.3	0.7
1913	8,548	4,725	88.57	48.96	0.2	4.6	34,600	0.4	0.8
1914	8,712	4,934	88.96	50.38	0.4	2.9	35,700	0.5	0.6
1915	8,697	4,997	88.66	50.80	—0.3	0.1	35,600	0.3	0.2
1916	9,459	5,490	96.58	56.52	8.9	5.3	43,300	3.2	0.3
1917	10,876	5,419	106.44	53.03	13.4	—6.0	45,300	3.8	0.3
1918	11,535	5,472	111.35	52.82	4.6	—0.4	51,300	1.3	0.1
1919	13,040	5,903	124.19	56.22	11.5	6.4	60,400	2.5	0.7
1920	15,314	6,538	143.90	61.44	15.9	9.3	65,900	3.6	1.0
1921	16,501	6,970*	153.02	64.28	6.3	5.1	74,000	1.6	0.6
1922	17,579	7,381	160.01	66.73	4.2	7.8	78,000	1.7	0.3
1923	19,727	7,898	178.61	70.71	9.8	5.6	65,900	3.3	1.1
1924	21,189	8,440	186.31	74.21	5.5	4.9	74,300	2.0	0.7
1925	23,134	9,065	200.61	78.57	7.6	5.9	77,100	2.5	0.8
1926	24,696	9,599	210.83	81.95	5.1	4.3	81,900	1.9	0.7
1927	26,091	9,739	219.94	82.10	4.3	0.2	85,700	1.6	0.2
1928	27,413	10,264	228.75	85.27	4.0	3.9	87,400	1.7	0.6
1929	28,208	.....	232.35	.....	1.6	.....	89,000	0.2	.....

*Estimated from figures for mutual savings banks.

TABLE II

Life Insurance in Force in the United States

Year	Total (Thousands)	Per Capita	Annual Per Cent Increase of Total Insurance In Force	Annual Per Cent Increase of Per Capita
1910	$16,406,703	$ 177.82	.....	.....
1911	18,002,781	192.17	9.7	8.1
1912	19,239,956	202.32	6.9	5.3
1913	20,520,598	212.62	6.7	5.1
1914	21,565,652	220.22	5.1	3.6
1915	22,743,336	228.94	5.5	3.9
1916	24,636,030	244.50	8.3	6.8
1917	27,116,691	265.40	10.1	8.5
1918	29,797,068	287.65	9.9	8.4
1919	34,977,756	333.11	17.4	15.8
1920	42,281,390	397.30	20.9	19.3
1921	45,983,401	424.03	8.8	6.7
1922	50,290,710	457.63	9.4	7.9
1923	56,803,534	508.57	13.0	11.1
1924	63,779,740	560.81	12.3	10.3
1925	71,642,128	620.93	12.3	10.7
1926	78,492,143	670.09	9.6	7.9
1927	87,022,064	733.57	10.9	9.5
1928	95,206,315	793.30	9.4	8.1

TABLE III

Assets of Building and Loan Associations

Year	Thousands	Year	Thousands
1910	$ 945,569	1920	$ 2,534,320
1911	1,040,308	1921	2,890,765
1912	1,137,601	1922	3,342,531
1913	1,248,479	1923	3,942,940
1914	1,357,708	1924	4,765,937
1915	1,484,206	1925	5,509,176
1916	1,598,628	1926	6,334,104
1917	1,769,142	1927	7,178,562
1918	1,898,344	1928	8,016,034
1919	2,126,620		

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ASSOCIATION AGAINST THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

Whereas, the Constitution of the United States, as established by the Fathers, delegated to the Federal Government only such powers as in their very nature should be Federal and not State, and under that distribution of powers our country enjoyed progress and stability for a hundred and thirty years; and

Whereas, the Eighteenth Amendment is misplaced in the Federal Constitution in violation of the Fundamental American right of local self-government in local affairs, and in surrender to the Federal authorities of police duties over the habits and the conduct of individuals which belong of right to the States; and

Whereas, National Prohibition under this Amendment has been the source of intolerable wrongs, having undermined our Federal system of government, robbed our citizens of Constitutional rights, fostered excessive drinking of strong intoxicants, bred corruption and hypocrisy, caused ruthless killings of men, women and children, sown disrespect for law and order, and flooded our country with untaxed and illicit liquor; therefore be it

Resolved, that the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment demands redress of these wrongs through restoration to the several States of the right of their peoples to enact such liquor laws as they may respectively choose, the abolition of the old-time saloon having paved the way for sound and enlightened legislation by them for the control, or, if they wish, for the prohibition of the liquor trade, provided that such legislation shall not conflict with the duty of the Federal Government to protect each State against violation of its laws by citizens of other States; and be it therefore further

Resolved, that the Eighteenth Amendment must be Repealed.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATION AGAINST THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

September 1, 1930

W. H. STAYTON, Chairman
Washington

MATHER A. ABBOTT, Lawrenceville, New Jersey. *Head Master of the Lawrenceville School.*
GEORGE ADE, Hazelden Farm, Brook, Indiana. *Author.*
R. L. AGASSIZ, 12 Ashburton Place, Boston, Massachusetts. *Chairman of the Board, Calumet and Hecla Consolidated Copper Co.*
A. L. AGATIN, 802 Lonsdale Building, Duluth, Minnesota. *Lawyer.*
FREDERICK M. ALGER, Penobscot Building, Detroit, Michigan.
FREDERICK H. ALLEN, 2 West 45th Street, New York, N. Y. *International Lawyer, practising in New York and Europe; attached to Commission to negotiate peace in Paris in 1919.*
FREDERIC WINTHROP ALLEN, 37 Broad Street, New York, N. Y. *Partner, Lee Higginson and Co., Bankers.*
JOHANNES ANDERSEN, 21 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y. *Merchant, Importer and Manufacturer of Pulp and Paper.*
WILLIAM S. ANDREWS, 312 S. A. & K. Building, Syracuse, New York. *Late Judge, Court of Appeals of New York.*
H. M. ATKINSON, Electric & Gas Building, Atlanta, Georgia. *Financier.*
GENERAL W. W. ATTERBURY, Broad Street Station Building, 1617 Pennsylvania Boulevard, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

JOHN E. BACON, M.D., Miami Inspiration Hospital, Miami, Arizona. *Chief Surgeon.*
THOMAS BARBOUR, Cambridge, Massachusetts. *Professor of Zoology and Director of Harvard University Museum.*
JOHN BARNES, Amsterdam, New York. *President, Blood Knitting Company.*
JAMES S. BARRON, Norfolk, Virginia. *Lawyer; State Senator.*
G. D'ANDELOT BELIN, Scranton, Pennsylvania. *President, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company of Pennsylvania.*
S. R. BERTRON, 40 Wall Street, New York, N. Y. *Banker.*
W. G. BESLER, 143 Liberty Street, New York, N. Y. *Chairman of the Board, The Central R. R. Co. of New Jersey.*
JAMES G. BLAINE, 120 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *President, Fidelity Trust Company of New York.*
PIERCE BLEWETT, Jamestown, North Dakota. *Farmer.*
G. ALDER BLUMER, M.D., 196 Blackstone Boulevard, Providence, Rhode Island. *Chairman, Rhode Island Division, Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.*
W. E. BOEING, Georgetown Station, Seattle. Washington. *Chairman of the Board, United Aircraft and Transport Corporation.*
HARLOW BROOKS, M.D., 47 West Ninth Street, New York, N. Y. *Consulting Physician.*
FRANK C. BROPHY, 514 Heard Building, Phoenix, Arizona. *Chairman, Arizona Committee of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.*
JAMES B. BROWN, Louisville, Kentucky. *President, National Bank of Kentucky.*
SAMUEL A. BROWN, M.D., 75 East 55th Street, New York, N. Y. *Consulting Physician.*
MATTHEW C. BRUSH, 120 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *President, American International Corporation.*
WALTER H. BUCK, Union Trust Building, Baltimore, Maryland. *Lawyer; Chairman, Maryland Division, Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.*
J. LEWIS BUMGARDNER, Beckley, West Virginia. *Lawyer.*
CHARLES W. BUNN, **Northern Pacific Railway Company**, St. Paul, **Minnesota**. *Lawyer.*
STRUTHERS BURT, Bar B. C. Ranch, Moose P. O., Jackson Hole, Wyoming. *Author.*
S. P. BUSH, 20 South Third Street, Columbus, Ohio. *Retired Industrialist.*

DONALD A. CALLAHAN, Wallace, Idaho. *Lawyer.*
J. DAWSON CALLERY, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *Banker; President, Diamond National Bank.*
OSCAR JAMES CAMPBELL, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan. *Professor of English.*
GEORGE H. CAPEN, Pierce Building, St. Louis, Missouri.
W. FRANK CARTER, 418 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri. *Lawyer.*
ROBERT K. CASSATT, Commercial Trust Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Partner, Cassatt & Company, Bankers.*
SAMUEL HARDEN CHURCH, 4781 Wallingford Street, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *President, Carnegie Institute.*
EMORY W. CLARK, 8310 Jefferson Avenue, Detroit, Michigan. *Chairman of the Board, First National Bank of Detroit.*
H. A. CLARK, Warren, Arizona. *Manager, Calumet and Arizona Mining Company.*
HERBERT L. CLARK, Locust at 16th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Partner, E. W. Clark and Co., Bankers.*

JULIAN CODMAN, 53 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Lawyer.*
WALTER B. COFFEY, M.D., San Francisco, California. *Head of the Hospital Service of the Southern Pacific Railroad Company.*
B. DAWSON COLEMAN, Lebanon, Pennsylvania. *Banker.*
WARREN COLEMAN, M.D., 59 East 54th Street, New York, N. Y. *Consulting Physician to Bellevue Hospital.*
JAMES FENIMORE COOPER, 35 State Street, Albany, New York. *Attorneys-at-Law.*
W. R. C. CORSON, 127 Oxford Street, Hartford, Connecticut. *President and Treasurer, Hartford Steam Boiler, Inspection & Insurance Co.*
FREDERIC R. COUDERT, 2 Rector Street, New York, N. Y. *Member of the New York Bar.*
R. T. CRANE, JR., 836 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Illinois. *President, The Crane Co.*
BENEDICT CROWELL, 930 Hanna Building, Cleveland, Ohio. *Chairman of the Board, Crowell & Little Construction Co.; Assistant Secretary of War during World War.*
HENRY H. CURRAN, 21 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y. *President, Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.*

RICHARD H. DABNEY, University of Virginia, University, Virginia. *Author; Professor of History; formerly Professor of Economics.*
JAMES M. DAIN, 260 Rand Tower, Minneapolis, Minnesota. *Investment Banker.*
CHARLES L. DANA, M.D., 53 West 53rd Street, New York, N. Y. *Trustee and former President, New York Academy of Medicine.*
MILTON DARGAN, Hart Building, Atlanta, Georgia. *Insurance.*
BENJAMIN S. DEAN, Fenton Building, Jamestown, New York. *Counselor-at-Law.*
JOHN B. DEAVER, M.D., 1830 De Lancey Place, Philadelphia. Pennsylvania. *Surgeon.*
HENRY W. DE FOREST, 165 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *Lawyer; Chairman of the Executive Committee, Southern Pacific Co.*
WILLIAM DE KRAFT, 1790 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
LYMAN DELANO, Wilmington, North Carolina. *Executive Vice-President, Atlantic Coast Line Railroad Co.*
A. C. DEUEL, Niagara Falls, New York. *President and General Manager, Niagara Falls Gazette.*
BENJAMIN H. DIBBLEE, Russ Building, San Francisco, California. *Vice President and Director, E. H. Rollins & Sons.*
JOSEPH DILWORTH, 4th and Bingham Streets, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *Vice President and Treasurer, Pittsburgh Parking Garages, Inc.*
HENRY W. DOOLEY, San Juan, P. R. *Chairman, Woodrow Wilson Foundation.*
CHARLES DORRANCE, 626 Scranton Life Insurance Building, Scranton, Pennsylvania. *Consulting Mining Engineer.*
F. J. DOUGLAS, M.D., 285 Genesee Street, Utica, New York. *Surgeon.*
WALTER DOUGLAS, 40 Wall Street, New York, N. Y. *President, Phelps Dodge Corporation.*
IRÉNÉE DU PONT, Wilmington, Delaware. *Chairman of the Finance Committee, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.*
LAMMOT DU PONT, Wilmington, Delaware. *President, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.*
PIERRE S. DU PONT, Wilmington, Delaware. *Chairman of the Board, E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co.*
FLETCHER M. DURBIN, 111 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois. *Investments.*
A. J. DYER, Nashville, Tennessee. *President, Nashville Bridge Company.*
ISAAC W. DYER, 85 Exchange Street, Portland, Maine. *Lawyer; former United States Attorney for Maine,*

STERLING E. EDMUNDS, 506 Olive Street, St. Louis, Missouri. *Lawyer.*
SIDNEY M. EHRMAN, Nevada Bank Building, San Francisco, California. *Lawyer.*
WILLIAM M. ELKINS, 1233 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Partner, Elkins, Morris & Co., Bankers.*
A. C. ELLIS, Kearns Building, Salt Lake City, Utah. *Member of the firm, Dickson, Ellis, Parsons & McCrea, Attorneys-at-Law*
CASWELL P. ELLIS, JR., 905 Hibernia Bank Building, New Orleans, Louisiana. *Cotton Commission Merchant; Dealer in stocks and bonds.*
NATHANIEL A. ELSBERG, 141 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
W. L. R. EMMET, General Electric Company, 1 River Road, Schenectady, New York. *Electrical Engineer.*
WILLIAM P. ENO, 1771 N Street, Washington, D. C. *Highway Traffic Regulation Engineer.*
MARION EPPLEY, The Eppley Research Laboratory, Beacon Rock, Newport, Rhode Island. *Physicist.*
JOHN ERSKINE, 49 East 52nd Street, New York, N. Y. *Professor of English, Columbia University.*
MILTON H. ESBERG, 601 Third Street, San Francisco, California. *Mercantile Executive.*

JAMES EWING, M.D., Cornell University Medical College, First Avenue and 28th Street, New York, N. Y. *Pathologist.*

GEORGE R. FEARING, 19 Congress Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Member of the firm, Jackson & Curtis, Brokers.*
STANLEY FIELD, 231 S. LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. *Director, Marshall Field & Co.; President, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago, Illinois.*
THOMAS W. FINUCANE, 183 East Main Street, Rochester, New York. *Capitalist.*
FREDERICK P. FISH, 84 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Lawyer; former President, American Telephone and Telegraph Co.*
FRED J. FISHER, Cass and Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan. *Vice President, General Motors Corporation.*
GEORGE P. FISKE, San Antonio, Texas. *Retired.*
MITCHELL D. FOLLANSBEE, 137 South LaSalle Street, Chicago, Illinois. *Partner, Follansbee, Shorey & Schupp, Lawyers.*
TOD FORD, Pasadena, California. *Attorney-at-Law.*
HENRY F. FORTMAN, 465 California Street, San Francisco, California. *Retired.*
FABIAN FRANKLIN, 417 Riverside Drive, New York, N. Y. *Journalist, Author and Mathematician.*
P. A. S. FRANKLIN, 1 Broadway, New York, N. Y.
GEORGE HARRISON FRAZIER, 1016 Packard Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
WILLIAM FREW, Union Trust Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *Banker.*
HAROLD DEWOLF FULLER, 32 Washington Place, New York, N. Y. *Editor and Teacher.*

WILLIAM GAMMELL, 50 S. Main Street, Providence, Rhode Island. *Partner, Brown & Ives, Bankers.*
IRVIN McD. GARFIELD, 30 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Member of firm, Warren, Garfield, Whiteside & Lamson, Lawyers.*
CLARENCE H. GEIST, Packard Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *President, The C. H. Geist Co.*
ROBERT GLENDINNING, 15th and Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Banker.*
DAVID M. GOODRICH, 17 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. *Director, The B. F. Goodrich Co.*
ANSON C. GOODYEAR, 1104 Marine Trust Building, Buffalo, New York. *President, Great Southern Lumber Co.*

BRUCE HALDEMAN, Glenview, Kentucky. *Retired Publicist.*
ARTHUR F. HALL, The Lincoln National Life Insurance Co., Fort Wayne, Indiana.
CHARLES H. HAMILL, 105 West Monroe Street, Chicago, Illinois. *Lawyer.*
JAMES C. HAMLEN, Portland, Maine. *President, J. H. Hamlen & Son, Inc., Lumber Manufacturers and Timber Land Owners.*
JOSEPH R. HAMLEN, 111 Devonshire Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Director for New England, Rudolph Guenther-Russell Law, Inc., Financial Advertising; President, Harvard Alumni Bulletin; Chairman, Harvard Fund Council.*
EDWARD S. HARKNESS, 654 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y. *Philanthropist; Director, New York Central Railroad and Southern Pacific Co.*
E. ROLAND HARRIMAN, 39 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *Vice President, W. A. Harriman & Co., Bankers.*
CHARLES HAYDEN, 25 Broad Street, New York, N. Y. *Partner, Hayden, Stone & Co., Bankers.*
AUGUSTINE HEALY, Southern Pines, North Carolina.
BURT W. HENRY, Canal Bank Building, New Orleans, Louisiana. *Partner, Henry and Cooper, Lawyers.*
GENERAL WILLIAM C. HEPPENHEIMER, 35 Journal Square, Jersey City, New Jersey. *Chairman of Board, The Trust Company of New Jersey.*
ERSKINE HEWITT, Ringwood Manor, Passaic County, New Jersey. *Lawyer.*
H. L. HOLDEN, JR., Easton, Maryland. *Farmer.*
HENRY HORNBLOWER, 60 Congress Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Banker.*
FRANK S. HOWLAND, Athens, New York.
ELTON HOYT, II, Union Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio. *Partner, Pickands, Mather & Co.*
GERALD HUGHES, International Trust Building, Denver, Colorado. *Lawyer; Chairman of the Board, First National Bank of Denver.*
HUGH HUME, The Spectator, Portland, Oregon. *Editor.*

WILLIAM M. INGRAHAM, Clapp Memorial Building, Portland, Maine. *Lawyer; former Assistant Secretary of War.*
JAMES IRVINE, Crocker Building, San Francisco, California. *Agriculturist.*
JOSEPH N. IVEY, Suite 1309 Hoge Building, Seattle, Washington. *Lawyer.*

DANIEL C. JACKLING, Hobart Building, San Francisco, California. *Engineer and Industrial Executive.*
MALCOLM JACKSON, 30 Bradford Street, Charleston, West Virginia. *Lawyer, Retired.*

ARTHUR CURTISS JAMES, 40 Wall Street, New York, N. Y. *Vice President, Phelps Dodge Corporation.*
OLIVER G. JENNINGS, Fairfield, Connecticut. *Capitalist.*
HENRY W. JESSUP, The Bar Building, 36 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y. *Counselor-at-Law.*
ELDRIDGE R. JOHNSON, Camden, New Jersey. *Former President, Victor Talking Machine Co.*
HENRY B. JOY, Penobscot Building, Detroit, Michigan. *Former President, Packard Motor Car Co.*

CORNELIUS F. KELLEY, 25 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *Lawyer; President, Anaconda Copper Mining Company.*
J. MILLER KENYON, Evans Building, Washington, D. C. *Attorney and Counselor-at-Law.*
C. J. KEYSER, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. *Adrain Professor Emeritus of Mathematics, Columbia University.*
F. M. KIRBY, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. *Vice President, Woolworth Co.*
JOHN H. KIRBY, Houston, Texas. *President, Kirby Lumber Co.*
ARNOLD H. KNAPP, M.D., 10 East 54th Street, New York, N. Y. *Executive Surgeon, Herman Knapp Memorial Eye Hospital.*
WILLIAM S. KNUDSEN, General Motors Building, Detroit, Michigan. *President and General Manager, Chevrolet Motor Company.*
FREDERICK J. KOSTER, Room 1414 Shell Building, 100 Bush Street, San Francisco, California. *President, California Barrel Company.*

SAMUEL W. LAMBERT, M.D., 128 East 75th Street, New York, N. Y. *Former Dean, College of Physicians and Surgeons; Former President, New York Academy of Medicine.*
ARTHUR W. LAWRENCE, 4 Valley Road, Bronxville, New York. *Investments.*
J. C. LeBOURGEOIS, 405 New Orleans Bank Building, New Orleans, Louisiana. *President, LeBourgeois Brokerage Co., Inc.*
ALEXANDER LINCOLN, 53 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Lawyer; Former Assistant Attorney-General, Massachusetts.*
HENRY F. LIPPITT, Providence, Rhode Island. *Chairman of the Board, Manville Jenckes Company.*
THOMAS B. LOCKWOOD, 512 Manufacturers & Traders Building, Buffalo, New York.
ARTHUR LYMAN, 60 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Trustee; President, Merrimack Manufacturing Company; Director, Old Colony Trust Company.*

ARTHUR W. MACHEN, JR., Calvert Building, Baltimore, Maryland. *Lawyer.*
NORMAN E. MACK, 1106 Rand Building, Buffalo, New York. *Editor and Publisher.*
F. W. MACLENNAN, Miami, Arizona. *General Manager, Miami Copper Company.*
ROGERS MacVEAGH, Pacific Building, Portland, Oregon. *Lawyer.*
WALTER B. MAHONY, 9 East 37th Street, New York, N. Y. *Editor, North American Review; Director, Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company.*
SEVERO MALLET-PREVOST, 63 Wall Street, New York, N. Y. *Partner, Curtis, Mallet-Prevost, Colt and Mosle, Lawyers.*
GEORGE D. MARKHAM, 16th Floor Railway Exchange, St. Louis, Missouri. *Senior Partner of W. H. Markham & Co., Insurance.*
FREDERICK ROY MARTIN, Lawrence Park West, Bronxville, N. Y. *Journalist and Publisher; formerly General Manager, The Associated Press.*
NOEL B. MARTIN, Lewiston, Idaho. *Lawyer; formerly printer and country newspaperman.*
SAMUEL MATHER, Union Trust Building, Cleveland, Ohio. *Senior Member, Pickands, Mather & Co., Cleveland, Ohio; Director, United States Steel Corporation.*
CLIFTON MATHEWS, Globe, Arizona. *Lawyer.*
JOHN LAWRENCE MAURAN, Chemical Building, St. Louis, Missouri. *Mauran, Russell & Crowell, Architects.*
HIRAM PERCY MAXIM, 410 Asylum Street, Hartford, Connecticut. *President, Maxim Silencer Company.*
LEWIS L. McARTHUR, M.D., 122 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.
P. A. McCARRAN, Reno, Nevada. *Attorney; Former Chief Justice, Nevada, Supreme Court; Former President, Nevada State Bar Association.*
THOMAS N. McCARTER, 80 Park Place, Newark, New Jersey. *President, Public Service Corporation of New Jersey.*
J. ROSS McCULLOCH, First National Bank Building, Fort Wayne, Indiana. *Vice President, First National Bank of Fort Wayne.*
STUART McGUIRE, M.D., McGuire Clinic, St. Luke's Hospital, Richmond, Virginia. *Surgeon.*
GEORGE W. MERCK, R. F. D. 129, West Orange, New Jersey. *President, Merck & Co., Inc.*
STEPHEN O. METCALF, 15 Westminster Street, Providence, Rhode Island. *Woolen and Worsted Manufacturer.*

WILLIAM H. METSON, Balboa Building, San Francisco, California. *Lawyer; Chairman, California Committee of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.*

DUNLEVY MILBANK, 52 William Street, New York, N. Y. *Lawyer.*

JOHN D. MILLER, 512 Whitney Building, New Orleans, Louisiana. *Lawyer.*

SIDNEY T. MILLER, Penobscot Building, Detroit, Michigan. *Partner, Miller, Canfield, Paddock & Stone, Lawyers.*

HERBERT C. MOFFITT, 1818 Broadway, San Francisco, California. *Doctor.*

W. W. MONTGOMERY, JR., 1421 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Lawyer.*

WILLIAM W. MOUNTAIN, Toledo, Ohio. *President, Mountain Varnish & Color Works.*

GENERAL THORNWELL MULLALLY, Hunter Dulin Building, San Francisco, California. *Lawyer.*

FRED T. MURPHY, M.D., 4350 Penobscot Building, Detroit, Michigan. *Trustee.*

GRAYSON M.-P. MURPHY, 52 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *Partner, G. M.-P. Murphy & Co., Bankers.*

EUGENE E. NEFF, El Paso, Texas. *President, Neff-Stiles Co., Wholesale Builders Supplies.*

WALDO NEWCOMER, 17 South Street, Baltimore, Maryland. *Chairman of the Executive Committee, Baltimore Trust Co.*

MEREDITH NICHOLSON, 625 Chamber of Commerce Building, Indianapolis, Indiana.

SAMUEL M. NICHOLSON, 23 Acorn Street, Providence, Rhode Island. *Manufacturer.*

HOFFMAN NICKERSON, West Shore Drive, Oyster Bay, Long Island, N. Y. *Author.*

COURTLANDT NICOLL, 149 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *Partner, Shiland, Hedges, Nicoll & Pelham, Lawyers.*

W. E. NORVELL, JR., 709 Harry Nichol Building, Nashville, Tennessee. *Lawyer.*

THOMAS J. O'BRIEN, Grand Rapids, Michigan. *Attorney-at-Law; former Ambassador.*

SAMUEL H. ORDWAY, 72 Wall Street, New York, N. Y. *Lawyer; former Justice of the Supreme Court of New York.*

NORRIS G. OSBORN, New Haven, Connecticut. *Editor, the Journal-Courier.*

C. A. OTIS, Otis & Company, Cleveland, Ohio. *Banker.*

ROBERT TREAT PAINE, II, 19 Congress Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Lawyer; Director, General Electric Company.*

WALTER W. PALMER, M.D., 620 West 168th Street, New York, N. Y. *Bard Professor of Medicine, Columbia University; Director, Medical Service, Presbyterian Hospital.*

WALTER PARKER, Fenner & Beane Building, New Orleans, Louisiana. *Economist, New Orleans and New York.*

WALTER O. PARMER, "Belle Meade," Nashville, Tennessee. *Retired.*

LEWIS H. PARSONS, 1422 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Partner, Graham, Parsons & Co., Bankers.*

STEWART PATON, M.D., 3908 North Charles Street, Baltimore, Maryland. *Psychiatrist, Johns Hopkins Hospital.*

H. H. PATTERSON, Farmers Bank Building, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. *Lawyer.*

J. MEDILL PATTERSON, 220 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. *Journalist.*

GENERAL FRANCIS PEABODY, 10 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Lawyer.*

RAYMOND PEARL, The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland. *Biologist; Statistician; Director of the Institute for Biological Research.*

R. A. F. PENROSE, JR., Bullitt Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Geologist and Author.*

SPENCER PENROSE, El Pomar, Colorado Springs, Colorado. *Capitalist.*

ALBERT T. PERKINS, 805 LaSalle Building, St. Louis, Missouri. *Railway Official.*

CHARLES C. PERKINS, Camarillo, California. *Rancher and President of the California Lima Bean Growers' Ass'n.*

CHARLES E. PERKINS, Santa Barbara, California. *Trustee; Director, Southern Pacific Company.*

MAXWELL E. PERKINS, New Canaan, Connecticut. *Editor, Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers.*

JAMES J. PHELAN, 60 Congress Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Partner, Hornblower & Weeks.*

WILLIAM WALTER PHELPS, 14 Wall Street, New York, N. Y. *President, Kettleman Oil Corporation.*

THOMAS W. PHILLIPS, JR., Butler, Pennsylvania. *former member of Congress; President, T. W. Phillips Gas & Oil Co.*

CHARLES W. PILGRIM, M.D., Dr. MacDonald's House, Central Valley, New York. *Former Chairman, New York State Hospital Commission; Former President, American Psychiatric Association and other medical societies.*

RAYMOND PITCAIRN, 1830 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Architect and Lawyer.*

EDGAR ALLAN POE, Calvert & Redwood Streets, Baltimore, Maryland. *Lawyer; Former Attorney-General, Maryland.*

ALEXANDER J. PORTER, Room 208 E. & H. Building, Niagara Falls, New York. *Manufacturer.*

JOHN W. PRENTISS, 42 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *Partner, Hornblower & Weeks.*

W. SCOTT PROSKEY, Reno, Nevada. *Mine Operator; Chairman, Nevada Committee of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.*

PERCY R. PYNE, II, 50 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. *Retired.*

CHARLES S. RACKEMANN, 60 Ames Building, Boston, Massachusetts. *Lawyer; President, Constitutional Liberty League of Massachusetts.*

JOHN J. RASKOB, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y. *Capitalist.*

C. B. RAYMOND, Santa Barbara, California. *Retired Manufacturer.*

FERGUS REID, Norfolk, Virginia. *Cotton Merchant.*

T. A. RIORDAN, Flagstaff, Arizona. *President, Arizona Lumber and Timber Company.*

LUCIUS F. ROBINSON, 750 Main Street, Hartford, Connecticut. *Partner, Robinson, Robinson and Cole, Lawyers; former President, Connecticut State Bar Association.*

GEORGE E. ROOSEVELT, 30 Pine Street, New York, N. Y. *Partner, Roosevelt and Son, Bankers.*

BRONSON C. RUMSEY, Cody, Wyoming. *Rancher.*

BENJAMIN RUSH, 16th and Arch Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *President, Insurance Company of North America and Associated Companies.*

WILLIAM E. RUSSELL, 199 Washington Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Lawyer.*

CHARLES H. SABIN, 140 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *Chairman of the Board, Guaranty Trust Company of New York.*

WILLIAM D. SARGENT, 60 Park Place, Newark, New Jersey.

MONELL SAYRE, 14 Wall Street, New York, N. Y. *Pension Expert.*

EDWARD SCHOENECK, 1400 State Tower Building, Syracuse, New York. *Lawyer.*

CHARLES SCRIBNER, JR., 597 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. *Publisher, Charles Scribner's Sons.*

HARRY SCULLIN, 6700 Manchester Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. *President, Scullin Steel Works.*

HERBERT M. SEARS, 53 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Trustee; Member of the Executive Committee, New England Trust Co.*

J. J. SEELMAN, M.D., 69 E. Wisconsin Avenue, Milwaukee, Wisconsin. *Specialist in diagnosis and internal medicine; Member Wisconsin State Board of Health; Chairman, Wisconsin Division, Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.*

EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, 324 West 86th Street, New York, N. Y. *McVickar Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University.*

JOHN L. SEVERANCE, 480 The Arcade, Cleveland, Ohio. *Retired.*

CECIL F. SHALLCROSS, 150 William Street, New York, N. Y. *Insurance President.*

ALFRED L. SHAPLEIGH, 4th Street and Washington Avenue, St. Louis, Missouri. *Chairman of the Board, Shapleigh Hardware Company.*

QUINCY A. SHAW, 14 Ashburton Place, Boston, Massachusetts. *Capitalist.*

RALPH M. SHAW, First National Bank Building, Chicago, Illinois. *Member of Firm of Winston, Strawn and Shaw, Lawyers.*

SAMUEL SLOAN, 43 Exchange Place, New York, N. Y. *Vice President, City Bank Farmers Trust Company.*

F. DUMONT SMITH, First National Bank Building, Hutchinson, Kansas. *Lawyer.*

GEORGE T. SMITH, 85 Montgomery Street, Jersey City, New Jersey. *President, Joseph Dixon Crucible Company.*

W. HINCKLE SMITH, 123 South Broad Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Capitalist.*

WILLIAM P. SMITH, 21 E. 40th Street, New York, N. Y. *Vice President, Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.*

NIKOLAI SOKOLOFF, 1220 Huron Road, Cleveland, Ohio. *Conductor, Cleveland Orchestra.*

FREDERIC E. SONDERN, M.D., 20 West 55th Street, New York, N. Y. *Clinical Pathologist; Member of Public Health Relations Committee, New York Academy of Medicine.*

SIDNEY SPITZER, The Nicholas Building Company, Toledo, Ohio. *Capitalist.*

FRANK SPURLOCK, Chattanooga, Tennessee. *Lawyer.*

E. MacD. STANTON, M.D., Medical Arts Building, Schenectady, New York. *Surgeon.*

W. H. STAYTON, Investment Building, Washington, D. C. *Founder of the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment; Lawyer; Former Naval Officer.*

CHARLES W. STERLING, Merchants Bank Building, St. Paul, Minnesota. *Partner, Sterling, Converse & Spence, Lawyers.*
WALTER W. STETTHEIMER, 62 First Street, San Francisco, California. *President, Neustadter Brothers.*
PERCY S. STRAUS, 151 West 34th Street, New York, N. Y. *Vice President, R. H. Macy and Co.*
MATT. I. SULLIVAN, 1108 Humboldt Building, San Francisco, California. *Attorney-at-Law.*
ALFRED H. SWAYNE, 1775 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *Vice President, General Motors Corporation.*

JAMES A. TALBOT, Bartlett Building, 7th and Spring Streets, Los Angeles, California. *Chairman of the Board, Richfield Oil Company of California.*
AUGUSTUS THOMAS, 11 Thomas Place, New Rochelle, New York. *Playwright.*
CHARLES S. THOMAS, First National Bank Building, Denver, Colorado. *Former Governor of Colorado and former U. S. Senator.*
ALEXANDER M. TUTHILL, M.D., Phoenix, Arizona. *Surgeon.*
JAMES TWOHY, Care of Twohy Brothers, Portland, Oregon. *Contractor.*
THOMAS J. TYNE, The National Building, Nashville, Tennessee. *Lawyer; Partner, Tyne, Peebles, Henry & Tyne; Vice President and General Counsel, The National Life and Accident Insurance Company.*

JOHN R. UMSTED, 21 South 12th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Vice President, Continental-Equitable Title and Trust Company.*

JOSEPH L. VALENTINE, 100 West Monroe Street, Chicago. Illinois. *Trustee.*

JAMES W. WADSWORTH, JR., Geneseo, New York. *Farmer.*
WILLIAM BELL WAIT, 74 Trinity Place, New York, N. Y. *Partner, Wait & Johnston, Lawyers.*
GEORGE H. WALKER, 39 Broadway, New York, N. Y. *President, W. A. Harriman & Co., Bankers.*
WILLIAM I. WALTER, 2 East 55th Street, New York, N. Y. *Retired Merchant; Director, Lawyers Mortgage Co.*
BENTLEY W. WARREN, 30 State Street, Boston, Massachusetts. *Partner, Warren, Garfield, Whiteside & Lamson, Lawyers.*
JAMES E. WELLS, Buffalo, New York. *Vice President, The Marine Trust Company of Buffalo.*
BARRETT WENDELL, JR., 137 West Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. *Partner, Lee Higginson & Company.*
ALEX. M. WETHERILL, Stuart Building, Seattle, Washington. *Colonel, U. S. A. R. C.*
W. CHATTIN WETHERILL, 1608 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. *Educator.*
GEORGE WARREN WILDER, East Rindge, New Hampshire, *Retired Publisher.*
GEORGE H. WILLIAMS, Boatmen's Bank Building, St. Louis, Missouri. *Partner, Bryan, Williams, Cave & McPheeters, Attorneys; former U. S. Senator.*
LINSLY R. WILLIAMS, M.D., 5th Avenue and 103rd Street, New York, N. Y. *Director, New York Academy of Medicine.*
JOHN P. WILSON, 140 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois. *Lawyer; Partner, Wilson, McIlvaine, Hale and Templeton.*
MATTHEW WOLL, 210 American Federation of Labor Building, Washington, D. C. *Vice President, American Federation of Labor.*
KENNETH A. WOOD, 287 Main Street, Buffalo, New York. *Member, New York Stock Exchange.*
ERNEST L. WOODWARD, Le Roy, New York. *Farmer.*
R. CHARLTON WRIGHT, 16 King Street, Colonial Place, Asheville, North Carolina. *Retired newspaper owner and editor.*
MAJOR-GENERAL W. M. WRIGHT, 3028 Q Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. *United States Army, Retired.*

Association Against the Prohibition Amendment

●

Chairman, Board of Directors

W. H. Stayton
Washington, D. C.

President

Henry H. Curran
21 East 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Vice-Presidents

John C. Gebhart
Laurence Hamill
G. C. Hinckley
Louis Livingston
Larkin G. Mead
W. Scott Proskey
J. J. Seelman, M.D.
William P. Smith
Charles S. Wood

Treasurer

Charles H. Sabin
21 East 40th Street
New York, N. Y.

Secretary

Emmet Dougherty
National Press Building
Washington, D. C.

PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE

On application, any of the following pamphlets will be mailed, free of charge:

The Quebec System; A Study in Liquor Control.

Annual Report for 1929.

Cost of Prohibition and Your Income Tax.

Measuring the Liquor Tide.

Government Liquor Control in Canada.

Reforming America with a Shot Gun.

The Last Outposts of Prohibition in Canada.

The Bratt System of Liquor Control in Sweden.

A Business Man's View of Prohibition. By Pierre S. duPont.

Finland's Prohibition.

England's Solution of the Liquor Problem.

Does Prohibition Pay?

BOOKS AVAILABLE

The A. B. C. of Prohibition. By Fabian Franklin; Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Prohibition or Control—Canada's Experience with the Liquor Problem. By Reginald E. Hose; Longmans, Green & Co.

Drink: Coercion or Control? By Rheta Childe Dorr; Stokes.

Before and After Prohibition. By Millard E. Tydings; Macmillan Co.

What Rights Are Left. By Henry Alan Johnston; Macmillan Co.

How They Draw Prohibition; A Book of Reprinted Cartoons; Issued by the Association Against the Prohibition Amendment.

Write to

ASSOCIATION AGAINST THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

21 E. 40th Street **New York, N. Y.**

24129

END OF
TITLE